2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding [706] battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots [756] or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 775 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] [262] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] [787] [773] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 756 [787] A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a [754] jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 756 755 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food [262] [778] reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They said to aroe echeba:

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together—they are all cultural acts.

Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the birds and he created the food they eat. He created the animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is

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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-churugu, kadogwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules--they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

/160 cont./

of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the same way, and both men and women.

Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of misfortunes.

In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American Indian tribes/" Archiv Für Religionswissenschaft XXIX, Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently, there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter; Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases, among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning this, we must first consider that many myths make great migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility, incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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its obscure heart an exact image of anything it winks at, must be some wicked device of the *bopi*—demons. The savage believes that any one having his picture may practice some black art over it and bring evil upon the original: that, as one may do what he wishes with the image, he likewise has power over the real man. Moreover, if one is such a powerful conjurer that he can secure that image, What may he not do with the original? I had to bribe them with valuable gifts in order to secure a number of pictures.

The Bororó, like other South American tribes, dwell in gloomy palm-branch huts that resemble squatty, old haystacks huddled together in complete disorder in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees of the upland jungle. They are constructed by first planting two posts in the ground twenty or thirty feet apart, ten feet high, and terminating in a fork, to support the ridge pole, which is held in position by means of creepers from the forest, instead of nails. Against the ridge pole, are reclined and bound, the rafters, the feet of which are sunk slightly in the ground and the upper ends are bound to the ridge pole. Bamboo poles are next bound horizontally to these rafters, while upright stakes are set in at the gables; and finally, to the entire frame-work, are bound huge, feather-shaped palm-branches, to shed the rain, and exclude the light because of the flies. The primitive residence is now complete. The only light that enters is what filters through the palm-branches. To enter, one pushes aside the palm-branches at one end and enters in a stooping position.

These strange, uncouth dens of savagery, are dark, unclean, and ill-smelling, and so devoid of every object considered absolutely essential to a civilized human abode, that it is difficult to comprehend that they are the dwellings of true human beings—the homes of multitudes of real men, women and children; where they are born, reared and pass their days, and the only abodes they have ever known. Entering one of these human lairs, we find it more or less strewn with decaying food refuse, such as bones and other rejected parts of fish, mammals, birds and reptiles; shells, stones and peelings

/510 cont./

765 one deceased waits for the next and the two leave the village together. Again no one seemed to pay any attention to them, and one would have thought two baskets of mandioca were being carried away. But soon four young people came along rather hurriedly and followed them into the forest: the first was swinging a whizzer stick; the second and third uttered loud cries of terror; the fourth cleared a broad path behind him with a palm leaf in order to obliterate the footprints and make it difficult for the dead to return. No woman was to be seen. One also carried a hoe /Hacke/. The baskets were buried, it was believed, on a small island lying upstream.

827 Soul and existence after death. For a person who is awake, there is action at a distance, which reminds one of our belief in ear-ringing. On the Kulisehu Tumayaua said to me once when I sneezed that my wife was calling me and that she was said because I had not yet returned. On a similar occasion, the very same thing was maintained by the Bororó; another time, when I stood beside an Indian woman and sneezed, she immediately asked me the names of my relatives: "What is your mother's name? Your brother's? Your brother-in-law's?"

774 828 The "soul" is called búpe. In the dream it leaves the body. The fear of waking up one who is sleeping was clearly expressed. Even Clemente believed that it was very harmful. It also has its advantages, however, as we once saw in the ranchão. Wilhelm wanted to draw a sleeping man. Now this seemed to be the

● [754] greater evil, apparently because one could practice sorcery with the picture; the Bororó generally resisted Wilhelm's efforts, but, on the other hand, they were pleased later when he showed them portraits made surreptitiously. In any case, the drawing of this sleeping man seemed hazardous to them. They wanted to waken him, and, when I prevented them from doing so and criticized them, /511/ they also tried surreptitiously (by spitting and throwing little pieces of wood) to achieve their purpose.

I do not know the exact meaning of búpe. During the dream, the soul flies away in the shape of a bird. Then it sees and hears many things. What the waking person reported is firmly believed.